

/94 cont. /

When the agreement

585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
 [292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a
 parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol.
 Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
 [582] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from
 cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not
 enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall.
 Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look
 left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear
 that she may be fond of some one else. The couple takes each
 a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next
 they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at
 each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home
 they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night to-
 [582] gether." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
 between people of the same surname, but relatives do not
 marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother,
 who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a
 gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is
 generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
 556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
 583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
 584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth,
 do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between
 to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
 836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the
 contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
 684 they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required
 • [837] as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
 586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife
 may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
 837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have
 become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What
 is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor. 618

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔʔAu Ma- and the guest-husbands are called ndʔAu la. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb, 837

"A woman has ten husbands,

A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials. 837 178

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along. 186 476

836 On the second or third days of the second moon, at
 837 *tuan yang* 團陽, and on the sixth day of the sixth moon, men
 and women and boys and girls go to market. There they make
 advances to each other and a boy or a man goes home with
 a girl or a woman. On the way or in her home they are
 likely to enjoy sexual intercourse. They may or may not be
 married people. If anybody in the home of the woman or
 girl objects, a quarrel ensues. Generally no trouble is made
 by the wife or husband of either of the actors. But some-
 times a woman who has irregular sexual relations with men
 other than her husband objects to her husband's doing like-
 wise and in rare cases she commits suicide. It is said that
 among the Ch'uan Miao there are no harlots, women who
 habitually sell themselves for money and depend on that for
 a living. Sexual relations are generally the result of love
 affairs.

837 At the *tsao chai* 做壽 ceremony or the *ch'ao chien* 趙薦
 593 ceremony, or at the *hua t'an* ceremony, the host may bring
 out a bamboo stick and hang it up on his door and near it
 hang up an iron chain. Then he says, "You are my guests,
 old and young. If a wife or a husband causes trouble because
 of what his mate does I will not endure it." He implies that
 he will beat that person and if the person does not run away
 or desist he will chain that person up. Then those present
 quietly entice each other, without speaking a word. If a man
 entices a woman and she consents, they enjoy each other
 and nothing happens. If she refuses, he desists. The same
 principal holds if the woman makes the advances. The
 act of sexual intercourse may take place in the woods, in the
 house where the guests are being entertained, or in another
 house. Nothing is done by either a husband or a wife after-
 wards. It is thought by some that this custom has grown
 out of unhappy early marriages.

Women purposely dress as well as possible so as to look
 pretty and attractive to the opposite sex. They do not use
 face powder, but most of them do not need to for Nature has
 given them good complexions. Women who are popular with
 men are pretty or ready of speech or well dressed or good
 singers or have bright minds or have money. These are the
 qualities that attract the men. Men who are popular with
 the women are handsome, or mentally bright or good singers
 or good at playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, or have money.
 Wealth alone is not sufficient, although it makes a great
 difference, and generally but not always ability to work is
 533 esteemed. It is said that the most potent music of all in
 making love is that made by blowing on tree leaves which has
 the advantage that audible words can be spoken by the
 musician.

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO

57

538 clear whether the two stones were two round pieces of a
773 stonegrinder or not. The Ch'uan Miao assured me that they
were not two round pieces of a stone grinder but merely two
round stones and that they rolled down from opposite hill-or
mountain-sides, the opposite sides of a canyon.

Another kind of legend is that which gives an explanation
for Ch'uan Miao customs. There are many of them and not
a few of the customs here described were first learned about
in a legend. As an illustration I will tell the story of the
origin of raising chickens.

A man was walking through the woods. A pheasant flew
out cackling and the man found some pheasant chicks. These
he took home and fed and gradually they became very tame
and grew up as pets. The family liked them so much that
they did not kill them and eat them. When these chicks grew
up they laid eggs and hatched out more chicks which in turn
grew up. This family gave some of the fowl to other families
and gradually people learned to raise chickens.

538 There are many love songs or songs that relate the
837 experiences of lovers, for the Ch'uan Miao have had their
share of Romeos and Juliets. Some of these songs tell of love
between men and their wives or between men and women whom
they love and wish to marry, but probably ninety percent of
the love songs tell of love affairs between married men and
women who are not their wives or between married women
and men who are not their husbands, or between unmarried
people who do not expect to get married, and in nearly all
of these cases it is stated or implied that there was sexual
intercourse between them. It seems to be assumed that love
between the sexes will result in sexual intercourse and the
pure love song that plays such a large part in the literature
of the world is hard to find.

IX. RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

771 In my opinion the Ch'uan Miao are a very religious people,
but they have no religious organization, no images of gods,
and no temples. Through their daily toil, by the help of
their ancestors and the gods, and through their religious
ceremonies, they hope to achieve a satisfying life in which
the basal needs of food, sex, protection or security, and play
and amusement are satisfied. Two of the fundamentals in
the Ch'uan Miao religion are belief in demons which cause
disease and other calamities and for whose exorcism cere-
monies are required, and the ancestral cult with its ceremonial
offerings and commemoration.

846 While the couade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors

• 837⁴ to the south, SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

VOL. 123

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

212 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their
584 share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

engagement is made. There is generally no love between the bride and the groom unless it is after marriage. Love affairs, which are many, are often between a man and another man's wife or between a woman and another woman's husband. Sometimes lovers run away together, after which go-betweens endeavor to obtain the consent of the bride's parents, and the gift to her parents must be made as usual. Marriage by capture is not unknown. Strange to say, women rather like this method, for it shows that the man loves or esteems the woman, and it often results in a happy marriage. 000 837 583

There are no physicians, although some persons are reputed to know more about medicines and healing than others, and the efficacy of the medicines has not yet been scientifically investigated. The common belief is that all diseases and other calamities are caused by demons, which must be exorcised by the *do nun* or *tuan kung*, who is a magician or shaman. He has a formula for every disease, and besides using ceremonies and incantations to exorcise the demons that cause diseases or other calamities, he performs many real wonders, among which are treading with bare feet on a red-hot plowshare and touching his tongue to the same, spitting or spurning hot oil out of his mouth onto a fire to cause a larger blaze, and with bare feet walking over a ladder of sharp swords. It is not strange that the death rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. 755 753 165

The Ch'uan Miao theory of filial piety and of the relation of mutual helpfulness between the deceased ancestors and their descendants corresponds fairly closely to that of the Chinese. The deceased ancestors are believed to be in need of the same things that they need on this earth before death, such as food, clothing, houses, and money, and these are provided by the loyal descendants through the ceremonial offerings. In return the ancestors help and protect their descendants so that they may prosper. 769

Soon after death the *mo* or priest three times calls on the soul of the dead to return or arise, and when it does not do so he performs a ceremony to open the way of the soul of the deceased to Hades, or to paradise, which is called the ancient level land of Ntzi, the supreme but not the only god. The priest kills a rooster, and the soul of the rooster leads the soul of the dead person to paradise. 775 764

Some time after the *mo* has opened the way for the soul of the deceased to go to paradise, there is a procession. In front is a man whirling a stick. He is followed by two men playing the *liu sheng* and dancing, then two blowing water-buffalo horns, two carrying green bamboo twigs, and finally two men with guns. Inside the house a ceremonial drum is beaten. This ceremony is symbolic of the fact that in ancient times their ancestors lived in the forest where there were dangerous wild animals.

During the funeral ceremonies a bull or a male water buffalo is killed and partly cooked, and some or all of it is offered to the ancestors. Then the meat is thoroughly cooked and there is a feast. Friends and relatives enjoy the feast, but the descendants of the deceased do not then eat any of the meat. 764

Generally on the next night after the bull is killed a dance is performed by the strongest young men inside the house. It takes place in front of the ceremonial 765

AKha A04
Miao AES

/33 cont. /

A
597 Among the Akha for the most part children are adopted only after they are able to eat, since only at this age is there any guarantee that the child will not die prematurely. A purchase price of about twenty rupees is paid for a boy and about ten for a girl, with which all the formalities are settled once and for all.

M
608 Blood brotherhood among the Meau is entered into only by men who are devoted friends. Only the free will of the participants is decisive in this case. If two men have agreed to enter into blood brotherhood with each other, a chicken is slaughtered by cutting its throat. The blood is collected in a bowl, mixed with rice spirits (liquor distilled from rice), and drunk in equal portions by the two men. /34/ To seal the blood brotherhood a formula is used by each of the two participants, which in free translation runs as follows: "We are friends. If I become rich, you will too; if I become poor, the same will happen to you." Then both to the altars in their houses and burn some of the chicken blood which they have sprinkled on paper that is prepared for this and similar occasions. While it is burning, they call on the supreme god of heaven and their ancestors and ask that their sacrifice be accepted and that the blood brotherhood concluded between them be heeded.

M
[776] The rights of blood brotherhood are quite extensive. From now on the two are regarded as brothers by the others and share all their possessions with each other, help and support each other in every way. On the other hand, they are not entitled to inherit like actual brothers, and neither has any right to the wife of the other.

A
608 The Akha do not have blood brotherhood, just "friends,"
572 without any special rights and duties.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/108 cont./

A even the clothes of the secondary wives, belong to her.

595 Among the Akha, the position of the daughter-in-law, who is
[422] the first to be called upon for assistance in all the difficult or
[606] unpleasant work of the women, is similar to her position among
[179] the Meau, and presumably has likewise been influenced by the
Chinese. Among the Akha, as among the Meau, after the

A wedding both sexes are required to observe marital fidelity,

M which among the Meau at least is not always followed. If a

837 man commits adultery with a girl, it is considered unimportant,

684 provided that there are no consequences. If there are, the

man must marry the girl or pay an indemnity agreed upon.

It is different if a man commits adultery with a married woman

and the affair is discovered. In this case, the seducer has to

pay the deceived husband the entire bride price or he will be

punished by the village chief. Moreover, the disclosure of

A such a case is a terrible disgrace for the seducer, whose prestige

M in the community suffers greatly (see the section, "Dissolution

[558] of Marriage," in this chapter).

The obligation for marital fidelity for both sexes is stricter
among the Akha than among the Meau.

Telford (1) reports that among the Akha of Kengtung

1. Page 108.

A a married, but childless woman may have sexual intercourse
184 now and then with an unmarried man. If she becomes
837 pregnant, her husband has to /109/ slaughter a pig and give it
to her lover. I assume that the reference to a slaughtered pig
means that a sacrificial feast must be arranged.A Wife exchange, the lending of wives, and outright wife-
M purchase, under which I do not include the indirect purchase
837 for marriage described above, are equally unknown among the
432 Meau and Akha. It can be assumed, I think, that in former
583 times among the Meau a purchase of wives in some form as
M yet unknown might have been practiced. In any case this is
174 indicated by the fact that the Meau believe it is not proper
583 to sell the household broom, because this would be tantamount
432

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are
not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
857 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has

[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

[64] If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments. /119/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children [85] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon [614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such [578] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. [595] The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

Miao AES

/110 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
 648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
 [587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
 [583] price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
 [548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
 586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
 • 197 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same

[114] 1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of
 [184] the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuratsadorn (3).

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife
 commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her
 consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He
 says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she --
 since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house --
 would have to support herself. This could be done, however,
 only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
 [184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is
 possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the
 deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular
 assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be
 condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while
 the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's
 laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childless-
 ness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.